212 to facilitate the teaching of Amharic to non-Amharic Ethiopians, illiterates, and for typing.

642 779 This latter change has not been made largely because of theopposition of the Abyssinian church. The Emperor is officially "Defender of the Faith". His connection with the church follows Old Testament patterns during the reigns of David and Solomon. The "tabot " (ark), which Emperor Menelik I supposedly spirited away from the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem to its secret place at Aksum, is regarded as guarding the liberty of the countryto this day. Church and State are thus intimately connected, and when Mussolini threatened Ethiopia, the Emperor and his chieftains swore to defend the "tabot" with their lives. After liberation, the Coptic Abyssinian church was reaffirmed as the State church, though weakened in its temporal powers(esp. feudal land tenure). When the last link with Alexandria was severed a few years ago, the Abyssinian church became fully the established state church.

● 173 The traditional epic of the "Solomonic Dynasty", the book "Käbrä Nägäst", is still honored officially, and taken literally by the people. It contains an extension of the Biblical story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to the court of King Solomon, and claims she conceived a son, Menelik I, the first Abyssinian ruler of the Solomonic Dynasty. The book may possibly date from the 13th century, justifying the resumption of this dynasty.

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5
Falasha MP9

A
[157]
A
563

irony. They are a happy people with a deep love of the natural world around them.

The Tigraians of the north are different. There is something hard and seasoned about a Tigraian which makes him easily distinguishable from an Amhara. The Tigraian is rather the yeoman type. The sharper drier climate of the borders of Eritrea gives him something which recalls a little the ruggedness and shrewdness of the Castilian. There is a determined look in the Tigraian eye which contrasts with the wild and passionate glance of the Amhara. The Amhara and the Tigraians, with the kin Hadendoa of Eritrea, represent varying degrees of mixing of the Hamitic and Semitic stocks.

A
563
F
105

The Agau, on the other hand, are said to be the descendants of the pure Hamitic stock—believed to be aboriginal to the Ethiopian Highland. They may well be "the blameless Ethiopians" of the ancients.[1] The judaised mountaineers of the Simen mountains speak an Agau dialect. There are islands of Agau in Gojjam, particularly along the line of the Western Escarpment. To the best of my knowledge these people together with the neighbouring negroid Gumuz of the Shankalla wilderness, another very primitive stock, have never been seriously studied. The language and customs of the Agau must be of considerable interest from the aspect of comparative linguistics and folklore.

The Agau villages through which we passed between the Escarpment and Njabara were miserably poor in the midst of an often fertile countryside: goitre, elephantiasis, and leprosy were rife. The people have long been a serf population under Amhara overlords; but in the tenth century they threw up the brilliant Zagwe dynasty which ruled Ethiopia for more than three centuries. The Zagwe episode in Ethiopian history seems to have represented some reaction of the older people of the Highland against the Amhara elements intruding from the north.

It may be of interest to refer here, in connection with the Agau, to the so-called Falashas or Black Jews. The main centre of the Falashas, who are Agau-speaking, has been in the Simen Mountains, but during the last century they have become scattered about all the north of the Ethiopian Highland. The religious practises of the Falashas are stated by people who have studied them to be those of the Jewish faith before the Babylonian captivity. The Falashas may therefore represent a remnant of a very old Jewish dispersion, or at least an early penetration of Jewish influences into the Ethiopian Highland.

A ●
173 ●

Again it has been pointed out by Luca di Sabelli, Conte Rossini, and others that the ritual of the Coptic Church in Ethiopia retains a number of practises which were a part of the Jewish religion before the Captivity.[1] These cultural remnants from the past have a bearing on the tenacious tradition in Ethiopia that the Royal House is descended from Menelik (=ibn el-Hakim="son of the doctor" or "the sage") who was reputed to be a natural son of Solomon and Balkis (Arab) or Makeda (Ethiopian) Queen of Sheba. If this legend is rationalized it may be postulated that folk traditions of early Jewish associations were given literary form, in the early centuries of the Christian era, by Coptic monks familiar with Old Testament history.

[1] Luca di Sabelli, 'Storia d'Abissinia,' vol. 1.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

Amhara invention. Though exact documentation is not available on the matter, *qenē* appears to be one of the flowers of the literary renascence which took place during the centuries following the ascendance of the Solomonid Dynasty. The earliest specimens of *qenē* extant date back to the reign of Emperor Eskender (1478–94).[6] Ethiopian traditions trace the invention of *qenē* to the work of a man named Tawānay, who is said to have lived in Gojjam in the fourteenth century.[7] The important schools of *qenē* have always been located in Amhara country, primarily at the monasteries of Wādelā, Wāsharā, and Gonj in Gojjam Province. While the choristers of Tigre have long since mastered the canons of *qenē* composition in Ge'ez, the use of wax and gold in the vernacular occurs much more often in Amharic than in Tigrinya. Indeed, wax and gold is so important in Amharic that some Amhara maintain that one does not properly speak the language unless he is well versed in the art of exploiting its numerous ambiguities. One of the more common indictments of Tigre character by Amhara is that the Tigre are "dry" (*daraq*); they say just what they feel and do not know how to be ambiguous. Conversely, many Tigre as well as other non-Amhara people in the empire complain about the excess of symbolism and subtlety in Amhara discourse.

Educated Amhara traditionalists extol wax and gold as a unique creation of their culture. One of them has written that *qenē* is as distinctive of Ethiopia's spiritual culture as *tēff*, a species of grass grown as a cereal grain only in Ethiopia, is distinctive of her material culture.[8] They further maintain that Ge'ez *qenē* contains a unique kind of wisdom, dark and deep. Instruction in this occult art of verse composition has traditionally been regarded as propaedeutic to the study of religious texts.* Partly this is because Ge'ez grammar, which must be known in order to understand these texts, is normally taught only in the schools of *qenē*. The more philosophical reason given, however, is that by affording exercise in fathoming secrets it "opens the mind" and thereby enhances the student's ability to approach the divine mysteries.

Important as such functions may be in the high culture of Ethiopia, wax and gold represents more than a principle of poetic composition and a method of spiritual gymnastics for a small class of literati. The ambiguity symbolized by the formula *sam-ennā warq* colors the entire fabric of traditional Amhara life. It patterns the speech and outlook of every Amhara. When he talks, his

---

* The course of instruction in *qenē* takes from two to five years, according to the talent of the student and the degree of mastery he desires. Ge'ez grammar and *qenē* prosody are taught side by side. The former, usually studied in the evening, is learned by rote. The latter is taught by running the student step by step through the gamut of figures and stanza forms. Instruction by example begins in the dark, before sunrise. The teacher extemporizes on a given theme in each of the stanza forms. His productions are memorized and discussed. In the daytime each student goes off by himself to a secluded place and composes one stanza. When finished—it may take him all day to perfect a couplet—he recites it to the master, who makes appropriate critical comments.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

*175 sea level. It is surrounded by three rings of high mountains, which afforded
361 military protection in times past and today provide handsome scenery. Only toward the south is a direct land route alluring, as the ridge descends toward the fertile plains of Dambiyā and the waters of Ṭānā, largest lake in Ethiopia.

[32] Because of its intermediate altitude, Gondar escapes the chill of higher re-
gions and the intense sun of the lowlands: its climate is among the most
[312] pleasant in Ethiopia. Water is supplied by two streams—the Angarab and the
Qīha—which enclose the town, then flow together down to Lake Ṭānā
[32] twenty-one miles away. Adequate rains throughout the year assure two, some-
[241]

*175 TABLE 1
643
THE HOUSES OF GONDAR AND MANZ

Gondarine Emperors Who Ruled with Full Power		The Line of Independent Shoan Rulers		
Name	Dates of Reign	Name	Highest Rank Attained	Dates of Reign
Fāsil (Fāsiladas)	1632–67	Nagāssi (Nagāssē Kristos)	Abēto	169?–1703
Yohānnes I (the Pious)	1667–82	Sebstē (Sebstyānos)	Marīdāzmātch	1705–20
Iyāsu I (the Great)	1682–1706	Abbīyē	Marīdāzmātch	1720–45
Takla Hāymānot I	1706–8	Amhāyas (Amhā Iyasus)	Marīdāzmātch	1745–75
Tēwoflos	1708–11	Asfā Wassan	Marīdāzmātch	1775–1808
Yostos	1711–16	Wassan Sagad	Rās	1808–13
Dāwit III (the Singer)	1716–21	Sāhla Selassie	Negus	1813–47
Bakāffā (the Inexorable)	1721–30	Haile Malakot	Negus	1847–55
Iyāsu II (the Little)	1730–55	***		***
		Menelik II		
		As ruler of Shoa	Negus	1865–89
		As emperor of Ethiopia	Negusa Nagast	1889–1913

*175
361
[132] times three, crops in the hinterland. Ṭēff and other grains, oilseed, honey, and
[241] livestock are produced in abundance.
[231] The population of Gondar approached seventy thousand during the city's
*175 time of power.[5] Thereafter it declined to but a few thousands. The towns-
633 people of Gondar have been chiefly traders, priests, scribes, soldiers, artisans,
[162] and drink-house proprietresses. Like the inhabitants of Aksum, they are more
[463] conscious of Ethiopian history than people elsewhere in the country, as well they might be.

Gondar was founded by Emperor Fāsil about 1635. Legend says that he
[173] was inspired to plant his capital there because of a prophecy that Ethiopia would attain its greatest power if its capital were established in a place whose
[361] name began with the syllable *Go*. More practical considerations were surely

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

[MANZ]

*175 Gondar has been described at first hand by numerous travelers and scholars, from the time of Poncet (1699) to the present day, only two foreign authors had penetrated Manz prior to my field trip there, and then hastily—the British missionary Krapf, for two days in 1842, and Soleillet, a French explorer (and friend of Rimbaud), for two days in 1882.[14]

Nevertheless, two circumstances of the era of recovery give Manz a special historical significance. First, since Manz was practically the only part of Shoa not overrun by the Galla, it was able to provide a base from which an Amhara offensive to reconquer the south was launched. It is for this reason that Shoans sentimentalize Manz as *ya-amāra mīnçh* ("the Amhara's source"). Second, Manz was the birthplace of a line of rulers which culminated in the present imperial family of Ethiopia.

Both of these circumstances have been endowed with supernatural significance by latter-day supporters of the Shoan throne, much as *The Glory of Kings* added religious sanction to the Shoan Dynasty of the thirteenth century. In *Darsāna Rāguēl,* a homily in honor of the archangel Raguel which came to light during the early part of Menelik's reign, they are made the subject of a prophecy of Emperor Lebna Dengel.[15] In this homily Lebna Dengel, overcome by the destruction wrought by the forces of Ahmad Gragn, prays to the Virgin Mary for seven days. When Mary at last appears, she rebukes the king for forsaking the piety of his fathers and urges him to repent. She is followed by the angel Raguel, who announces to the humbled king what is to be the fate of his country and his children. "For two hundred and fifty years there will be many pagans throughout the land of Shoa . . . but not in Manz, for it is the land guarded by Uriel, the angel who gathered the pure blood from the side of Christ."[16] As for the sons of Lebna Dengel, Yā'qob—who is said to have sojourned in Manz during and after the time of Grāñ, and from whom the House of Manz claims descent—"will dwell in your land, in peace and safety. . . . Among the children of the king Yā [the prophecy alludes to persons and places by their initial syllables] one will remain in Manz, by the will of our God, for this son of Yā will love the angel Uriel. . . . The King beloved by the angel Uriel and issue of the house of Yā will govern Shoa."[17]

To some extent, moreover, Manz is noted for its connection with important events and sovereigns of earlier centuries. According to Ethiopian tra- [173] dition, Manz was the refuge of the sole survivor of Aksumite royalty, Anbasā Wedem, who is believed to have fled south to Manz when Aksum was sacked in the tenth century.[18] Manz was the object of some attention under Emperor Zar'a Yā'qob (1434–68), who established a monastery at Ferkutā in eastern Manz, and during whose reign was written a biography of the "apostle of Manz," Yohānnes the Oriental, who converted wild beasts and overcame the dragon.[19] His successor, Ba'eda Māryām (1468–78), made his camp

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

for a while at Masala Māryām in Manz. His sojourn there, remembered to this day, is recorded in the amusing rhymed formula with which he exacted tribute from the various districts near his camp:

> From Agāntchā/fifty *ḳoretchā* ("saddles"); from Hulu Dehā/fifty *dehā* ("servants"); from Aftanaṭ/fifty *naṭ* ("rugs"); from Godambo/fifty *gambo* ("jars of drink").

It was from Manz that Ba'eda Māryām brought priests to officiate at his coronation in Djagno.[20] According to Shoan beliefs, finally, Manz also served as a refuge during the invasions of Ahmad Grāñ for the fourth son of Lebna Dengel (1507–40), Yā'qob, who is said to have fled there with the royal raiments and received succor from the local inhabitants.

According to *Futuḥ el-Habacha,* Manz was ravaged by the forces of Grāñ in 1531.[21] Scarred timbers identified as pillars of churches burned during that invasion may be seen there today. Local legends concerning the history of Manz relate for the most part to the miraculous feats of strength which Grāñ is said to have performed there and to the resettlement of Manz after Grāñ. These legends speak of the "founding" of Manz by three men—Māmā, Lālo, and Gērā—who were sent by one of the emperors to settle and govern that territory. As the story goes, the emperor offered each of them as much land as he could cross in a single day. They set out from the Adabāy River, today a western boundary of Manz, and the result of their long day's journey was the present tripartite division of Manz into Māmā Meder, Lālo Meder, and Gērā Meder. This explains why Gērā Meder is the largest of the three districts—for Gērā's horse was the strongest!

Although their deeds are recorded only in the form of legends, Māmā, Lālo, and Gērā were historical personages. They appear to have lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[22] Gērā was the most powerful of the three, as the legend of his horse suggests. He controlled most of the land of Manz, including Afqārā, an impregnable mountain fortress which was used for generations as a garrison for political prisoners. He set aside a large stretch of grassland to be used by local people for grazing cattle and providing thatch for roofs, where still today it is forbidden to plow or build houses.

Not these three lords, however, but one of their rivals—Nagassē Kristos Warada Qāl, commonly known as Nagāssi—put Manz on the map. Nagāssi was born to a wealthy proprietor in the district of Agāntchā. As a young man he showed outstanding valor and skill at arms. His success in battle won him many followers, who helped him advance from enlarging his possessions at the expense of his neighbors to the conquest of Galla territories southeast of Manz.

Nagāssi's ambition was fed by his victories. He proclaimed himself ruling prince of Shoa, and vanquished those who disputed this claim, including the

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

pleasure among the Amhara, but also as a typical response to situations which arouse anxiety. The crisis of death is met first of all by a prolonged ritual of wailing, and this is followed by a series of memorial feasts which occur on fixed days following the person's death. Any kind of bad news evokes repeated exclamations of "Ay! Ay!" When a child or wife is punished, the response is a prolonged and monotonous yell usually out of proportion to the actual pain felt. In the anxious hour before battle, war chants and boastful cries tune up the warriors' spirits. Moments of great awe, finally, such as the appearance of the holy ark when it is brought out of the church or the arrival of some great political personage, occasion a shrill ululation.

Response to illness was the anxiety area chosen as an index of positive fixation by Whiting and Child in their cross-cultural study of *Child Training and Personality*. They assumed that a fixation on oral gratification would express itself in a preference for therapies which involve swallowing something.[13] In this area, too, Amhara culture displays a preoccupation with orality, and not just in the form of swallowing. Something akin to a general principle for oral therapy appears in the well-known Amharic proverb: "For headache, shout on it! For stomach-ache, eat on it!"

A number of the oral therapies practiced by the Amhara are naturally functional, such as drinking a purgative made from leaves of the *kosso* tree to cure tapeworm, or eating a kind of unleavened corn bread to arrest dysentery. Beyond this, most of their magical therapies are also oral. Drinking holy water (and sometimes bathing in it) is believed to cure nearly every sort of affliction, from rheumatism and leprosy to eye and ear ailments. In some regions it is believed that eating the liver of a hyena will cure syphilis. Psychotherapy, too, often relies on oral remedies: the *zār* on a patient is often placated by feeding him, via the patient, a sumptuous meal. Oral types of prophylaxis are also to be noted. Garlic is eaten in order to prevent malaria. Certain kinds of animals are eaten on special occasions in order to ward off sickness. Finally, there is the remarkable phenomenon of the *lālibalā*, a night singer, who can protect himself against hereditary leprosy only by singing out loud in the night air.

In general, one can say that the Amhara have a tendency to attribute magical efficacy to oral incorporation and, to a lesser extent, to the adroit use of language. The latter belief appears in the assumption that human problems are solved by attaining some particularly fortunate verbal formulation, and in the association of outstanding wisdom with unusual mastery of language. The former appears in beliefs and legends which associate eating a lot with the attainment of unusual bravery, longevity, and physical strength. A legend about the invader Ahmad Grāñ, for example, relates that as a baby he was able to consume fourteen bowls of *ǐnjarā* at one sitting. A num-

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

ber of Amhara folk tales, moreover, have as their central theme the resolution of conflict or the attainment of mastery over the environment by means of eating something or presenting food to someone.[14] It is a theme conspicuous in the legend which celebrates the ascendance of the first of the Shoan Amhara emperors, Yekuno Amlāk (1270–85). According to *The Book of the Riches of Kings,* Yekuno Amlāk ate by chance the head of a rooster which had been set out for a king of the rival Zāgwē Dynasty:

> And this youth Yakuno Amlak found the head of the cock which the woman had left by the fire-place, and he took it and ate it, and it filled his belly, and it made him an exalted person and so mighty a man that he was superior to every other man of might, and it made his face to shine like the light of the sun, and his majesty filled all the other servants of the king with awe, and all the people feared him, and they marvelled at him, and they loved him exceedingly, and they placed him in their hearts, and they recognized that the grace of God was upon him, and they said, "What is the thing which hath come upon this young man?"[15]

Oral Sadism

In addition to subserving a passive, receptive mode of relating to the environment, preoccupation with the oral zone also figures in Amhara culture as the locus of a variety of aggressive modes of behavior and fantasy. Hostility is expressed by a number of oral gestures. Sticking out the tongue and spitting on the ground in front of somebody, for example, are two forms of non-verbal insult. Biting the lower lip is an indication of anger. Touching the tongue, and then forehead, chin, and cheeks, signifies "You just wait!" When fighting, men sometimes bite one another's ears. The activation of a strong biting impulse in situations of military combat is suggested by the following refrain from an Amhara martial declaration, recorded over a century ago:

> Oh brothers, you are hungry and thirsty! Oh true sons of my mother,
> Are you not birds of prey? Come on! There is the enemy's flesh.
> And I, I will be the rider to butcher for you! Forward,
> And if you lack hydromel, I will give you my blood to drink.[16]

The theme of cannibalism appears in various forms in the Amhara imagination. One of the common subjects of traditional Amhara painting is the story of the cannibal Balaya Sab. His name is in Ge'ez, and means "Eater of Men." The story about him derives from one of the old legends collected in *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary.*[17] Balaya Sab was a wicked man who fed on the flesh of humans. At his death he appeared before St. George, who measured his evil deeds against his good deeds on a large scale. On the side of evil deeds were placed the souls of all those he had eaten, so heavy a weight that the devil began to make ready to carry him off to hell. Then

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

consequence of substantial loss of accustomed mother love at the time of weaning—a mild but chronic state of mourning which gives a depressive undertone to the rest of life—is certainly one of the more evident characteristics of most Amhara.[22] At the same time the Amhara child is made anxious about his actual oral gratifications. He no longer eats whenever he wants to, but only after he has waited for the adults to finish their meal. He is no longer entitled to the choicest food, mother's milk, but to poorer food and leftovers. And he is made increasingly aware of the adult anxieties about eating connected with the fasting requirements, and with the food shortages of the rainy season.

Applying the Whiting-Child hypotheses in the light of these observations one may characterize the development of an ambivalent preoccupation with the oral zone by Amhara as follows: an initially very high level of oral satisfaction enjoyed during the nursing period makes oral gratification a particularly attractive source of pleasure as well as a desired refuge for the psyche under the pressure of later deprivations; while the emotional and nutritional deprivations which the Amhara child experiences toward the end of the nursing period and thereafter undermine the sense of security acquired during his indulged infancy and make him anxious about the fount of that security, oral gratification.*

Whatever the precise ontogenetic basis of this phenomenon may prove to be, the Amhara's ambivalent preoccupation with orality is projected at the *cultural* level in the form of two contrasting human ideals. The secular masculine ideal in Amhara culture is a hero of oral gratification and prowess. He is a man who eats much and drinks much, and who excels in litigation, in declaiming the martial chants, and in composing veiled insults. The religious ideal, on the other hand, is a hero of oral renunciation. The most devout Amhara are considered those who keep all of the fasts, even the esoteric ones; or even, as monks and ascetics, live on a fasting diet the year round—in the extreme case, feed on leaves as hermits. The association of religious virtuosity with oral renunciation reaches its logical climax in legends about Gabra Manfas Qeddus ("Servant of the Holy Spirit"), the most hallowed Amhara saint. In contrast with the normal Amhara boy who nurses for close to three years, Gabra Manfas Qeddus is said to have been at his mother's breast for only three months, when a bird swept down one day and carried him away.

---

* While this formulation may leave more questions unanswered than it solves—a purely behaviorist formula inevitably neglects the dynamics of defensive operations and the significance of ambivalence—it carries us as far as our data permit and may provide a useful point of departure for further discussion and investigation of Amhara psychology.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

*121 181 571

> Our people always speak indirectly, in secrets. For example, a man will come, asking for the glass he loaned another man. The debtor says he will bring it in a week, that it has been broken and he will send for a new one. The man may say: "Oh, never mind. It doesn't matter to me, don't bother." The debtor will then be scared; thinking that the owner of the glass is in his stomach quite angry and ready to kill him, he will take his gun and get the man first.[16]

The suspiciousness which so colors interaction among the Amhara has been viewed by some observers primarily as an adaptive response to some very real dangers with which Ethiopia has chronically been confronted: the threat of conversion to Western forms of Christianity by European missionaries, the threat of European imperialism, and the threat of encirclement and occupation by a militant Islam. These factors have undoubtedly intensified the apprehensiveness of Ethiopia's leaders and strengthened the much publicized xenophobic attitude of the Amhara people, just as the proliferation of security networks during the postliberation period has intensified the generalized distrust on the domestic scene. But these attitudes flourish as they do because they are nurtured on the soil of a basic disinclination to trust one another that is endemic in traditional Amhara culture.

That culture is marked, *au fond*, by a sense of despair about the possibilities of concord and enduring consensus among men, and, in more practical terms, by a realization that people who spend so much of their time deceiving one another are not to be trusted very much. *Sawen mämman bakantu naw* ("it is futile to trust in man")—so runs an Amharic epigram sometimes woven ornamentally into wool rugs; and it carries a secular-practical as well as a religious-speculative meaning. This disposition is institutionalized in the custom of *wäss*, according to which any sort of civil transaction—hiring a man as a servant, or lending money, or litigating in court—involves as one of the first steps the securing of a *wäss*, or "guarantor," who agrees to make good for any damages caused by the man he is backing.[17] It also appears in the custom of continually challenging the assertions made by someone who is relating an episode, so that the speaker is forced to interlard his narration with oaths that swear by the truth of what he is saying. The Amhara tendency to "overinterpret" and impute deception appears in their conception of the very origins of their language, for informed traditional Amhara commonly believe that Amharic originated as a secret language during the reign of the legendary Falasha Queen Yodit.

[173]

*121 181 571 198

A penchant for *secrecy* is pronounced among the Amhara and constitutes still another aspect of the individualistic disposition. In culturally elaborated forms it appears in the predilection for employing secret languages, including the argots of merchants, minstrels, and *zär* victims,[18] and the secret language

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

11. The letter was made available to the author through the courtesy of an Ethiopian informant. The text paraphrases Psalm 79.
12. This and the following section draw in part on material which has been published elsewhere, together with other material on Manz not included here. Cf. D. Levine, "On the History and Culture of Manz," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, IX (Spring 1964), 204–11.
13. The boundaries of Manz proper include the Mofar River in the south, the Adabāy and Wānchet rivers in the west, the Qechenē River in the north, and in the east a long chain of mountains which pour forth the waters that drain across Manz and which divide it from the lowlands of Efrātā, Gedem, and Qawat. Accurate maps of Manz and its boundaries are not yet available.
14. Their itineraries are described in Isenberg and Krapf, *Journals* (London, 1843); and Paul Soleillet, *Voyages en Éthiopie* (Rouen, 1886).
15. A. Caquot, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Raguel," *Annales d'Éthiopie*, II (1957), 91–122.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
18. Takla Ṭsādeq Makuriyā, *Ya-Ityopyā Tārik Ka-Aṭsē Lebna Dengel Eska Aṭse Tēwodros* (Addis Ababa: Tensā'ē Za-Gubā'ē Press, 1949 E.C.), p. 20.
19. Cerulli, *op. cit.*, pp., 101–3.
20. Doresse, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
21. Chahab ad-Din Ahmad, *Futuh el-Habacha*, trans. D'Abbadie and Paulitschke (Paris, 1898), p. 342.
22. Cf. D. Levine, "On the History and Culture of Manz," *op. cit.*, p. 208.
23. This account of Nagāssi, like the accounts of his descendants which follow, has been constructed from a variety of sources, which, while differing in details, agree on the essential points presented here unless otherwise indicated. Oral traditions were obtained from Amhara informants in Manz and Addis Ababa. The chief written sources consulted include: Heruy Walda Selassie, an unpublished and untitled manuscript on the history of Ethiopia (part of which was published in his *Wā-Zēmā* [Addis Ababa, 1923 E.C.]); Takla Ṭsādeq Makuriyā, *op. cit.*; Tādassa Za-Waldē, *Ya-Abētohun Yā'qob Teweldennā Aṣher Tārik* (Addis Ababa: Berhānennā Salām Press, 1948 E.C.); Guèbrè Sellassié, *Chronique du Règne de Ménélik II* (2 vols.; Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine, 1930–32); Antonio Cecchi, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa* (3 vols.; Rome, 1886–87); Major W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia* (3 vols.; 2d ed.; London, 1844); Isenberg and Krapf, *op. cit.*; and Soleillet, *op. cit.*
24. The related claim set forth by his dynasty—that Nagāssi was in the direct line of descent from Lebna Dengel—is less universally acknowledged by Ethiopians. It is still a controversial question whether or not Nagāssi was actually related to Lebna Dengel and, if so, by what route.

    The official genealogy traces the descent line as follows: Lebna Dengel—Yā'qob—Segew Qāl—Warada Qāl—Lebsa Qāl—Nagāssi. This is the account set forth in Takla Ṭsādeq Makuriyā's history. The other Shoan authors who

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

173 175 deal with this matter present different pictures, however. Blāttēngētā Heruy and Guèbrè Sellassié telescope the genealogy: Yā'qob—Segew Qāl—Nagāssi. Tādassa Za-Waldē, on the other hand, leaves the question open; he identifies Segew Qāl as one of Yā'qob's sons, and refers to Nagāssi as father of the Shoan Dynasty, but affirms nothing concerning a connection between Segew Qāl and Nagāssi.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that none of these versions was reported to European travelers in the nineteenth century prior to the ascendance of Menelik. According to information given Major Harris by Shoan informants in the 1840's, Nagāssi inherited royal blood through his mother, who was said to be a granddaughter of "a daughter of the House of Solomon." Four decades later Soleillet was told still another story, namely, that "the kings of Shoa are now of the House of David, heirs of Solomon, cousins of Christ" not through Nagāssi, but by virtue of the marriage of his great-great-grandson, Asfā Wassan, to a relative of the imperial family at Gondar. Cecchi, finally, mentions none of these legitimizing affiliations.

113 25. Heruy manuscript, p. 19.

26. The latter version is given by Cecchi.

27. James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (5 vols.; London, 1790), III, 255–56.

28. Cecchi, *op. cit.*, I, 241.

29. Takla Ṣādeq, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

30. Harris, *op. cit.*, III, 9.

31. Takla Ṣādeq, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

32. Harris, *op. cit.*, III, 12.

33. Isenberg and Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 301. Heruy's account of the rebellion of Matako is considerably different. We are following Harris and Krapf here since they were virtually contemporaneous with the events, and would have no particular reason not to record them faithfully.

[114]

34. Isenberg and Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

35. Harris, *op. cit.*, II, 133.

36. Arnauld d'Abbadie, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Éthiopie* (Paris, 1868), p. 173.

[103] 37. The word "Manz" (or "Manzeh"), according to local clergy, stems from a Ge'ez expression which means "land on which Christ's blood was sprinkled."

38. Ludolphus, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

39. The architecture and layout of the imperial compound are described in Monti della Corte, *I castelli di Gondar* (Rome: Società Italiana Arti Grafiche, 1938).

40. On the role of the ***abuna***, cf. below, chap. v.

41. C. Poncet, "A Voyage to Ethiopia," *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1949), p. 61.

42. This is what has been called an orthogenetic, as distinguished from a heterogenetic, pattern of cultural development. Cf. Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, III, No. 1, 53–73.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

113 34. A. Klingenheben, "Zur Amharischen Poesie," *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, XV (1959), 5–20.

[173] 35. Clyde Kluckhohn's statement that "Where dependence on memory exists, there seems to be an inevitable tendency to emphasize the correct perpetuation of the precious oral tradition," reflects, if the Amhara case is at all typical, an exaggerated view of the rigidity of the oral tradition that is shared by many students. *Mirror for Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), p. 30.

36. D'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

37. Stories with this theme numbered 27 per cent; the next highest category was only 9 per cent. The data are reported in Edith Lord, *Culture Patterns in Ethiopia* (Washington, D.C.: International Co-operation Administration, 1959), p. 28.

38. Cf. Immanuel Wallerstein, *Africa: The Politics of Independence* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 134.

39. Cf. Richard Pankhurst and Endreas Eshete, "Self-help in Ethiopia," *Ethiopia Observer*, II, No. 11 (December, 1958), 354–64.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

41. Besides Pankhurst and Eshete, cf. Asfaw Damte, *"Ekub," UCAA Ethnological Society Bulletin*, No. 8 (1938), pp. 63–76.

42. Luther, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

43. On the inhibition of individuality as a generic problem among the new nations cf. Edward Shils, *Political Development in the New States* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962), pp. 37–38.

44. The classic response of the European mentality to this trait appears in Plowden's famous remark: "Once vanquish [the Abyssinians'] idea that they are perfect, that they are the favoured people on earth, and that nothing can be taught them, and they will be quick and intelligent to learn and to imitate"; *op. cit.*, p. 396.

45. William Seed, "Censorship in Ethiopia," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct. 7, 1954.

*787 539 stars his destiny is linked.[29] For this, the debtera must know the subject's autonym, the year (zemene) and month of his birth, and whether he was born during the day or night; division is by twelve. Here, the text indicates both the name of the subject's star, and a variety of information relevant to all people who are bound to *[753] this star. Among this information, the following medical data figure prominently: 1) Prophylactic and diagnostic notations specifying the ailments and pathogenic *[755] agents which threaten the subject; 2) prophylactic notations regarding the manufacture of the kitab, its appropriate digam (indicated by generic title), and the construction of an effective telsem most appropriate to the [782] subject; 3) therapeutic notations regarding pharmacology *[218] and the choice of suitable sacrifices (indicated in terms of color, combination of colors, animals, combinations of animals, substitute animals).

The text further stimulates and focuses prophylactic interests, by indicating the following concomitants of illnesses which threaten for the future: 1) The days,

[29] Stars one, five and nine are identified by name with fire; two, six, and ten with earth; three, seven and • [193] eleven with air; four, eight and twelve with water. Debteras trace the origins of awdunigist variously to the court of Solomon and to certain monasteries of medieval Ethiopia.